

The Democratic Standard.

DEVOTED TO THE SUPPORT OF THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS—THE DIFFUSION OF GENERAL INTELLIGENCE—AND THE REFORM OF ALL POLITICAL ABUSES.

BY D. P. PALMER.

GEORGETOWN, O., TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1845

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ANNEXATION RESOLUTION.

The following is a copy of the resolution
for the annexation of Texas to the
United States as it passed the House of
Representatives.

JOINT RESOLUTION declaring the
terms on which Congress will admit
Texas into the Union as a State.

Resolved, by the Senate and the House
of Representatives of the United States
in Congress assembled, That the Congress
doth consent that the territory
properly included within, and rightfully
belonging to the republic of Texas, may
be erected into a new State, to be called
the State of Texas, with a republican
form of government, to be adopted by
the people of said republic, by deputies
in convention assembled, with the consent
of the existing government, in order that
the same may be admitted as one of the
States of the Union.

Sec. 2. And be it further resolved,
That the foregoing consent of Congress
is given upon the following conditions,
and with the following guarantees, to wit:

First. Said State to be formed, sub-
ject to the adjustment by this government
of all questions of boundaries that may
arise with other governments—and the
constitution thereof, with the proper
evidence of its adoption by the people
of said republic of Texas, shall be trans-
mitted to the President of the United
States, to be laid before Congress, for
its final action, on or before the first day
of January one thousand eight hundred
and forty six.

Second. Said State when admitted
into the Union, after ceding to the United
States all public offices, fortifications,
barracks, ports and harbors, navy yards,
docks, magazines, arms, armaments, and
all other property and means pertaining
to the public defence, belonging to said
republic of Texas, shall retain all the
public funds, debts, taxes, and dues of
every kind which may belong to, or be
due and owing said republic—and
shall also retain all the vacant and unap-
propriated lands lying within its limits, to
be applied to the payment of the debts
and liabilities of said republic of Texas,
and the residue of said lands, after dis-
charging said debts and liabilities, to be
disposed of said State may direct—
but in no event, said debts and li-
abilities to become a charge upon the gov-
ernment of the United States.

Third. New States, of convenient
size, not exceeding four in number in ad-
dition to said State of Texas, and having
sufficient population, may hereafter, by
the consent of said State, be formed out
of the territory thereof, which shall be
entitled to admission under the pro-
visions of the federal constitution. And
such States as may be formed out of
that portion of said territory lying south
of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north
latitude, commonly known as the Missouri
compromise line shall be admitted into
the Union, with or without slavery, as
the people of each State asking admis-
sion may desire, and in such States as
shall be formed out of said territory north
of said Missouri compromise line, slave-
ry or involuntary servitude, except for
crime, shall be prohibited.

The vote on the passage of this reso-
lution was as follows.

YEAS.—Messrs. Arrington, Ashe, At-
kinson, Bayly, Belser, Black, Edward J.
Black, James Black, James A. Black,
Blackwell, Bower, Bowlin, Boyd, Broad-
head, Aaron V. Brown, Milton Brown,
William J. Brown, Burke, Burt, Caldwell,
Campbell, Shepherd Cary, Reuben Chap-
man, Augustus A. Chapman, Chappel,
Cline, Cobb, Coles, Cross, Cullum, Daniel,
John W. Davis, Dawson, Denn, Delat,
Douglas, Dromgoole, Duncan, Ellis,
Farlee, Ficklin, Foster, French, Fuller,
Hammet, Harrison, Hays, Henley, Holmes,
Hoge, Hopkins, Houston, Hubbard, Hub-
bell, Hughes, Charles J. Ingersoll, Jam-
eson, Cave Johnson, Andrew Johnson,
George W. Jones, Andrew Kennedy, Kirk,
Patrick, Labadie, Leonard, Lucas,
Lumpkin, Lyon, McCausland, Mackey, Mc-
Clelland, McConnell, McDowell, McKay,
Matthew Joseph Morris, Isaac E. Morse,
Murphy, Newton, Norris, Owen, Parmen-

ter, Payne, Patten, Payton E. D. Potter,
Platt David S. Reid, Relfa, Rhet Ritter,
Roberts Russell Saunders, Senter, Thom-
as H. Seymour, Simons Simpson, Slidell,
John T. Smith, Thomas Smith, Robert
Smith, Stearns Stephens John Stewart,
Stiles James W. Stone, Alfred P. Stone,
Strong Sykes Taylor Thompson Tib-
batts Tucker Waller Wentworth, Joseph
A. Wright Yancy and Yost—120.

NAYS.—Messrs. Abbot Adams Ander-
son Baker Barringer, Bernard Benton
Bion, Le Brinkerhoff Jeremiah Brown,
Bullington Carpenter Jeremiah E. Cary,
Carroll, Catlin, Cassin Chilton Cling-
man Clinton Collamer, Cranston Dana
Garrah Garrett Davis, Richard B. Davis,
Deberry Dickey Dillingham Dunlap El-
mer Fish Florence Foot Giddings Goggin,
Willis Green, Byron Green, Grinnel,
Grider Hale Hannibal Hamilton, Edward
S. Hamlin, Haron Harer Herrick Hud-
son Washington Hunt, James B. Hunt,
Joseph K. Ingersoll, Irvin Jenks Perley,
B. Johnson, John P. Kennedy, Preston
King, Daniel P. King, McClelland, Mc-
Climans Marsh Edward J. Morris, Free-
man H. Morse, Moseley Nes Patterson,
Phelan Pollock Elisha R. Potter, Pres-
ton Purdy Ramsey Rathbun Rayner,
Redding Robinson Rockwell Rodney,
Kogers St. John Sample Schenck Sav-
erance David C. Seymour, Albert Smith,
Caleb B. Smith, Stearns Andrew Stew-
art, Sumners Thomsom Tilden Tyler,
Vance Vanmeter, Vinson, Wethered, Win-
ham John White, Benjamin White, Wil-
liams Winthrop and William Wright—98.

INDIVIDUAL LIABILITY.

We copy from the Statesman the fol-
lowing debate, which took place in the
Senate on the 24th January, on an amend-
ment offered by Mr. Bartley to Mr. Kel-
ley's Bank bill, to provide for the individ-
ual liability of the stockholders.

Mr. Bartley offered an amendment, pro-
viding for the liability of stockholders in
their individual and natural capacity, for
every bill or note issued as money by the
bank, of which they are stockholders, and
all transfers of stock to defraud creditors,
and with a view to the solvency of the
bank, in which said stock is to be held,
shall be void.

Mr. Bartley said, that he proposed this
amendment because he believed that the
principle of individual liability of stock-
holders in banking companies, was right
and proper—and that no banking system
ought to be created without it. He had
but little hope, however, that it would
meet the approbation of a majority of the
friends of the bill. Much reflection and
examination of the subject in all its bear-
ings, had satisfied him that it was demand-
ed as a principle of justice as well as
a principle of safety. Regarding it as a
vital principle which should never be yield-
ed, and which could not be too strenu-
ously urged, he would detain the Sen-
ate with a few remarks on the subject.

When we confer upon one portion of
the community means and facilities for
enlarging and extending their liabilities, it
appeared to manifest a total disregard for
the safety of the public, to lessen at the
same time, the responsibility of that part
for the payment of their debts. If the
capacity of money is to be given by law to
the promissory notes of a favored few, who
are to be authorized to substitute their
bank debts for the circulating medium of
the country, and by this means receive an
interest instead of paying an interest on
their debts, they ought not to be toler-
ated in the demand that their liability for
the payment of their notes should not be
less than the liability for the payment of
debts which is exacted from the mem-
bers of a firm or association of individ-
uals engaged in any other business. When
high and exclusive privileges are grant-
ed, deeply affecting the standard of val-
ue and the interests of an entire commu-
nity, the favored recipients should have
their responsibilities increased rather
than diminished; and unless by its insid-
ious encroachments the moneyed power
has already acquired the control of the
citadel of our liberties, the intelligent
freemen of Ohio will not tolerate this un-
reasonable and unjust exaction at their
hands.

The failure of banks are always caused
either by imprudence, negligence or
fraud, and it is as certain as any other
principles of human action, that the stock-
holders of a bank will be strict in their
supervision and management, and use
rigid precautions in proportion to the
risk and personal responsibility which
they incur; and on the other hand when
the stockholders run but little risk them-
selves, when the loss occasioned by a
failure falls chiefly upon the rest of the
community, they will often for the sake
of large profits, either negligently, im-
prudently or fraudulently permit the in-
crease and business of their bank to be
pushed to a dangerous excess. Individ-
ual liability, therefore, is a safeguard
against negligence, imprudence and fraud,

and a principle of integrity in business.
Every person is morally responsible for
the consequences of his own acts and
those of his authorized agents. The
banker is morally responsible for all the
losses and damage occasioned by his im-
prudence, negligence or fraud, and his
legal liability should be commensurate
with his moral obligations. The exemp-
tion of bankers therefore, from individ-
ual liability for the payment of their debts,
stricken at the very foundation of a great
principle of moral rectitude, gives a li-
cense to disregard the requirements of a
distinguished author on this subject, to
hold out a premium to villainy upon a
large scale.

When a bank fails the loss must fall
either upon the holders of its bills or
upon its stockholders. The bill holders
as such are entitled to none of the profits
of the bank and they have no voice
or authority in its management, and none
of the means of ascertaining its condi-
tion. The stockholders receive all the
profits of the business, have the entire
control, and can at any time by an exam-
ination ascertain for themselves the pre-
cise condition of their institution. Who
then, he would inquire, should bear the
loss in case of a bank failure? Those
who receive none of the profits, and have
no means of protecting themselves, or
those who receive all the profits of the
business, have the sole power of control-
ling the bank and the only means of
knowing its condition? Shall bankers be
tolerated in coming into this chamber,
with the audacity and effrontery of a de-
mand that they, the favored few, shall
be exempt from personal liability for the
payment of their debts; and the losses and
damage occasioned by their negligence,
imprudence, frauds and villainy, shall be
thrown off their shoulders on to the in-
nocent and unsuspecting portion of com-
munity?

Shall we be lulled into stupidity by the
siren song, that this bill provides other
securities amply sufficient, that under this
bill bankers are compelled to provide se-
curity abundantly sufficient within their
individual responsibility. How much
safer this bill affords to the community,
I may have occasion to examine at an-
other time. But let us not deceive our-
selves. If the bankers are required by
this bill to provide security which will be
amply sufficient to prevent any loss, why,
if this security is provided in good faith,
should the banker be afraid to risk his
personal responsibility? If the commu-
nity is made perfectly secure, individual
liability cannot do the banker any harm,
and he will not be afraid. If the banker,
who provides this security and controls
it, is unwilling to trust to it himself, in
the name of all that is just and sacred,
should the community rest content with it?
Shall the people be required to take
the promissory notes of bankers as their
circulating medium, and confide in them
as their standard of value, when the ban-
kers themselves are unwilling to stand
personally responsible for their redemp-
tion? I warn the friends of this bill to
be beware of venturing too far in the at-
tempt to delude the people by the cry of
security without individual liability.—
They may, before they are aware of it,
wake up those slumbering lions in the
public mind, which with the thunders of
popular indignation will tear to tatters the
fanciful fabric of their exclusive privi-
lege. A far better Mr. Speaker, had you
attempted to chain down the elements of
popular indignation by giving convincing
evidence of the honesty of your system
in the adoption of the principle of individ-
ual liability.

The practical operation of banking in-
corporations shows the necessity for the
personal liability of the stockholders. A
natural person in the accumulation of prop-
erty, regularly continues to augment his
liabilities by the increase of his property.
But not so with a bank. Every six months
a bank distributes its dividends to its
stockholders, and as fast as it accumu-
lates profits, the stockholders receive
them, and add so much to their private
property. Thus a bank may enlarge its
debts, and increase its profits, and at the
same time, grow poorer by its dividends
to its stockholders. Bankers may be
wealthy in their individual capacity, from
the profits derived from their bank, while
they are poor in their corporate capacity
as a bank. Thus we may occasionally
find men rolling in luxury and splendor,
and riding in magnificence through our
streets, from the wealth amassed from
the profits of banks which have failed,
leaving one part of community suffering
for the very necessities of life, on ac-
count of losses, occasioned by their broken
promises to pay their notes on de-
mand.

It cannot in candor be pretended by
any intelligent person, that the principle
of individual liability in banking is im-
practicable. It has been already tried
in the United States, as well as in other
countries. Individual liability in a qual-
ified form has for many years existed in
the banks of Massachusetts and several

other States; and several of the banks
doing business at this time in Ohio, have
accepted individual liability of their stock-
holders, as a provision in their charters.
The Legislature was memorialized at
the last session by several banks, for the
continuance of their charters on certain
terms, and on the express condition that
their stockholders should be made liable
in their individual capacity. In England
and Scotland, the joint stock banking
companies are all founded on the individ-
ual liability of their stockholders to the
whole extent of their private property.—
And it cannot be claimed that the people
of England or Scotland are any more
honest or prudent than the people of this
country. And if individual liability in
banking is not objectionable to capitalists
in England and Scotland, there does not
appear to be any good reason why it
should be objectionable in the United
States. It is true, however, that ban-
kers here will at first pronounce any prop-
osition impracticable, which does not
meet their own peculiar views.

Mr. PARKES replied to Mr. Bartley at
some length. He read from McCullough's
commercial dictionary, and insisted that
the joint stock banking companies in Eng-
land and Scotland had many failures, not
withstanding the individual liability of
their stockholders. Individual liability
may be a principle of safety, but banks
can be made perfectly secure without it.

Mr. WERNICK said that safe and good
men would not bank on the principle of
individual liability. The Senator from
Richland would not engage in banking if
made personally liable. Mr. W.'s own po-
litical party in his county were not in fa-
vor of individual liability in banking.

Mr. EXLEY said he considered the
bill afforded security sufficient without
individual liability. Banks were not bet-
ter with individual liability than without
it. He exhibited a bank note which he
said was a ten dollar note of the bank of
Massachusetts, a bank on the principle of in-
dividual liability, which once existed in
the town in which the Senator from
Richland (Mr. Bartley) resides. That
bank broke and some persons lost the
amount of that note.

Mr. BARTLEY said that the Bank of
Massachusetts was an unauthorized associa-
tion of individuals, who before the year 1816
banded together to swindle community.
They had no capital and could not be
called a bank upon any principle. This
single instance of an unauthorized and
fraudulent company did not prove any-
thing. Fraudulent banks without individ-
ual liability were as numerous as the
sands on the sea shore. But even in the
instances mentioned, individual liability
was not found useless. For the stock-
holders were sued and stripped of their
property, and the swindling managers
were, after being stripped of their prop-
erty, driven from the country.

It is true, as remarked by the Senator
from Lake, (Mr. Perkins) that failures
have sometimes occurred among the
banks of Scotland. But although banks
of issue have occasionally failed in all
countries and under all systems, yet the
individual liability banks of Scotland
have had fewer failures, and have been
more stable and uniform than any system
of banks of issue which had ever existed
in that country. The individual liability
banks of the new England states have
been the safest in this country.

Mr. B. said that a very large majority
of the people of all political parties in
Ohio were in favor of individual liability
in banks. In his own senatorial district,
a very large majority of the political party
to which the friends of this bill belong-
ed, were in favor of individual liability.—
And he doubted whether the people of
Ohio would tolerate any system of bank-
ing which repudiated this principle of safety.

Mr. ANDERSON called for a division of
the question, which being ordered pre-
sented the individual liability of stock-
holders as a naked question, leaving out
that portion in relation to transfers of
stock.

The question being taken thereon, was
lost—yeas 15, nays 20 as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Armstrong, Aien, Bald-
wind Bartley Chaney Disney Johnson
Jones King Knuch London Miller,
Warner Watters and Wood—15.

NAYS.—Messrs. Anderson, Barrere, Cod-
ding, Cox, Crouse, Eckley, Gregory, Griff
Hastings Kelley of Cuyahoga, Kelley of
Franklin, Osborn O'Farrell O'Neal Per-
kins Powell Quincy Van Vorhes Wet-
more and Speaker—20.

So the Senate, by a strict party vote,
refused to make stockholders liable for
their debts.

The remainder of the amendment was
then lost without a division.

A POOR.—The Providence Gazette

says—
If a man gets too lazy to draw his last
breath, can he die?

From the Ohio Statesman. MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

There is a great mistake existing in the
public mind, as to the number of public
documents the members of Congress
have distributed to them, by order of
their respective Houses; and out of which
alone, they can answer the calls of their
constituents for documents. It is but
justice to the Senators and members of
the House, that this matter should be
explained; otherwise, they may be ex-
posed to the censure of their constituents
and best friends at home, for not send-
ing them documents when in fact, it is of
ten impossible for them to send to
one friend out of every hundred of
those who write for documents during
the session. We will state how this mat-
ter is, and for the sake of brevity we
shall speak only of the Senate; but the
explanation will apply equally well to
both Houses.

The public documents are those that
emanate from the several branches of the
Government, and are printed by order of
one or the other of the two Houses. Of
these, the most important are the annual
message of the President, and the reports
from the several Departments accompan-
ying the message. These are all printed
and put up together—about fifteen
hundred copies are ordered by the Sen-
ate, of which a part is retained for per-
manent use, and the other part distrib-
uted equally among the Senators, to be sent
to their constituents. Each Senator gets
about twenty five, or thirty five copies,
only. This number, it will be seen,
does not enable the two Senators from a
large State as Ohio, for instance, to send
one copy to each county in the State;
nor does it enable them to send even one
copy to each editor, if they were to send
to no other person, as there are, in Ohio,
for instance, more than three times that
number of newspapers. Nor can the Sen-
ators get any more copies, as there are
none printed for sale.

There are many other documents print-
ed, of which but one, two or three cop-
ies are given to each Senator.

Sometimes, but that is very seldom,
there is a particular document ordered to
be printed, in large numbers, so that each
Senator will get 50, or a hundred copies
and even then, the Senators can sup-
ply but one or two persons, in each coun-
ty.

It is the custom of the members of
both Houses, to send to their constitu-
ents, these documents as soon as they
get them, and therefore, when the mem-
bers receive letters—and of these they
receive a great many—asking for particu-
lar documents printed at former sessions
years before, it is not possible for them
to comply; for it often happens, that not
one copy of such documents, is to be had
in the city.

Each member and Senator, buys them
out of his own funds, at the rate of, from
fifty cents to three or four dollars for
each hundred copies, according to the
number of pages.

But it often happens, that there is in
Congress no debate of importance going
on, the speeches in which are of any in-
terest, and in that case, the members re-
solutely have nothing to send their friends
and constituents.

It will be seen, therefore, that it is im-
possible for the Senators and members
of the House, to comply with the re-
quests of the hundreds, and even thou-
sands of their constituents and friends,
who write to them for documents. It is
often not in their power to do it in one
instance out of fifty.

Our brethren of the press throughout
the State, will no doubt do their friends
in Congress an act of kindness, as well as
of justice, by giving this notice a place in
their papers.

A TRUE FISH STORY.

Dr. GORDING—And it is said that it can
be relied upon—thus speaks of the fish
in Columbia River. It is almost worth a
trip to Oregon just to wet a line in such
waters. Hear the Doctor:

I have ascertained already the exist-
ence of six different species of salmon
in the Columbia river, the period of spawn-
ing of each is different, they are found
to run up to the very sources of this riv-
er—rapids and cataracts to the contrary
notwithstanding. 'It is common,' says
the doctor, 'to find them in the months
of November and December, at the
heads of these streams, in such quantities
as to choke up the currents, and die by
thousands.' Further he says, 'Such are
their efforts to ascend, that they not only
become emaciated, but actually wear off
their noses in the severity of their strug-
gles!'

The bill to grant one-half the lands in
the Vincennes District to the State of
Indiana, to aid in the construction of
the Wabash and Erie Canal, from Terre
Haut to the Ohio river, has passed the
Senate—Yeas 21, Nays 9.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN W. TIBBATS, OF KENTUCKY.

On the annexation of Texas—delivered
in the House of Representatives Janu-
ary 13, 1845.

Mr. TIBBATS being entitled to the
floor, rose and said that he was certainly
under great obligations to the committee
for the courtesy and indulgence they had
extended to him by postponing the dis-
cussion until to day, though he did not
feel that he should, in the present state
of his health, or in the hour which, under
the rules of the House, he had the right to
occupy, either do justice to himself or the
important question under discussion.

Mr. T. said that he had in need atten-
tively to the gentleman from Maryland,
[Mr. J. P. Kennedy] who had addressed
the committee on Saturday last, but had
heard nothing fall from him which he
could construe into an argument against
the constitutional power of Congress to
admit Texas into the Union as a State.
That gentleman seemed to content him-
self with referring the committee to the
case of the 'shoulder knots,' related in
Dart Swift's admirable and celebrated
production, 'The Tale of a Tub.' It
seemed to him (Mr. T.) that the gen-
tleman from Maryland, and others who had
opposed this measure, had made the same
disposition of the constitution of the U.
States, which, after many difficulties and
trials, had been finally made by the three
brothers, in the 'Tale of a Tub,' of the
troublesome will of their father. As
Swift tells us that—

'Fashions' perpetually altering in that
age, the scholastic brother grew weary of
searching farther evasions, and solving
everlasting contradictions, resolved, there-
fore, at all hazards to comply with the
modes of the world, they concerted mat-
ters together, and agreed unanimously to
lock up their father's will in a strong box
brought out of Greece or Italy, (I have
forgotten which), and trouble themselves
no farther to examine it, but only to refer
to its authority wherever they thought fit.'

It seemed to him that the gentleman
from Maryland had not thought it worth
his while to trouble himself with the con-
stitution at all so far as regarded the
question of the power of Congress to ad-
mit new States to the Union—for so far as he
collected, the only reference which that
gentleman had thought worthy of being
made to the constitution at all, was those
clauses which regulated the qualifications
of representatives and Senators in Con-
gress. The gentleman from Maryland
had objected to the proposition of the
gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Dismore) be-
cause, as he contended, the 'immedi-
ate admission into the Union of Texas
as a State, would bring into Congress
senators and representatives who will not
have the constitutional qualification of
nine and seven years.'

It is true that the constitution provides
that no person shall be a representative
who shall not have * * * been seven
years a citizen of the United States; and
that no person shall be a senator who
shall not have * * * been nine years
a citizen of the United States.' Now,
admitting the position of the gentleman
and the construction which he placed
upon those clauses to be correct, what
(asked Mr. T.) had that to do with the
question under consideration—with the
constitutional power or right of Congress
to annex Texas to this Union either as
State or Territory? It would only op-
erate as an inconvenience to the people of
Texas, if they were placed in that posi-
tion—an inconvenience, however, for
which they would no doubt find a thou-
sand remedies from this country, if Tex-
as should be re-annexed to it—but it was
no argument against the constitutional
power of Congress to re-annex that coun-
try to this. But Mr. T. contended, that
the constitution ought not to receive
such a construction. If Congress had
the constitutional power to admit Texas as
a new State to this Union, which was the
preliminary and main question, we ought
not to give such a construction to any
other clause in the constitution as would
make that power nugatory. The consti-
tution is to be construed in such manner
as will give effect to every power grant-
ed, and to every word in the grant of
that power, and where the grant of two
powers would seem to conflict with each
other, such a construction should be given
to each as that both may stand—and if
one power be auxiliary to another, it
must be so construed as to aid in carrying
out the greater power, and not so as to
obstruct its operation. If the consti-
tution confers upon Congress the power to
admit Texas as a State, then such con-
struction must be given to the clauses in
relation to the qualifications of senators
and representatives, as will comport with
that power, and not deprive that State of
its just representation under the consti-
tution. If this can be done without de-
stroying the plain sense of the words, it
ought to be done, otherwise the consti-
tution would be an absurdity. The atti-